

A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
P R O F E S S I O N

W H I C H T H E

Right Reverend Father in G O D,

J O H N, ^{Late}

Late Lord Bishop of CHICHESTER,
Made upon his D E A T H - B E D ;

C O N C E R N I N G

Passive Obedience, and the New Oaths.

T O G E T H E R

With an Account of some Passages of His

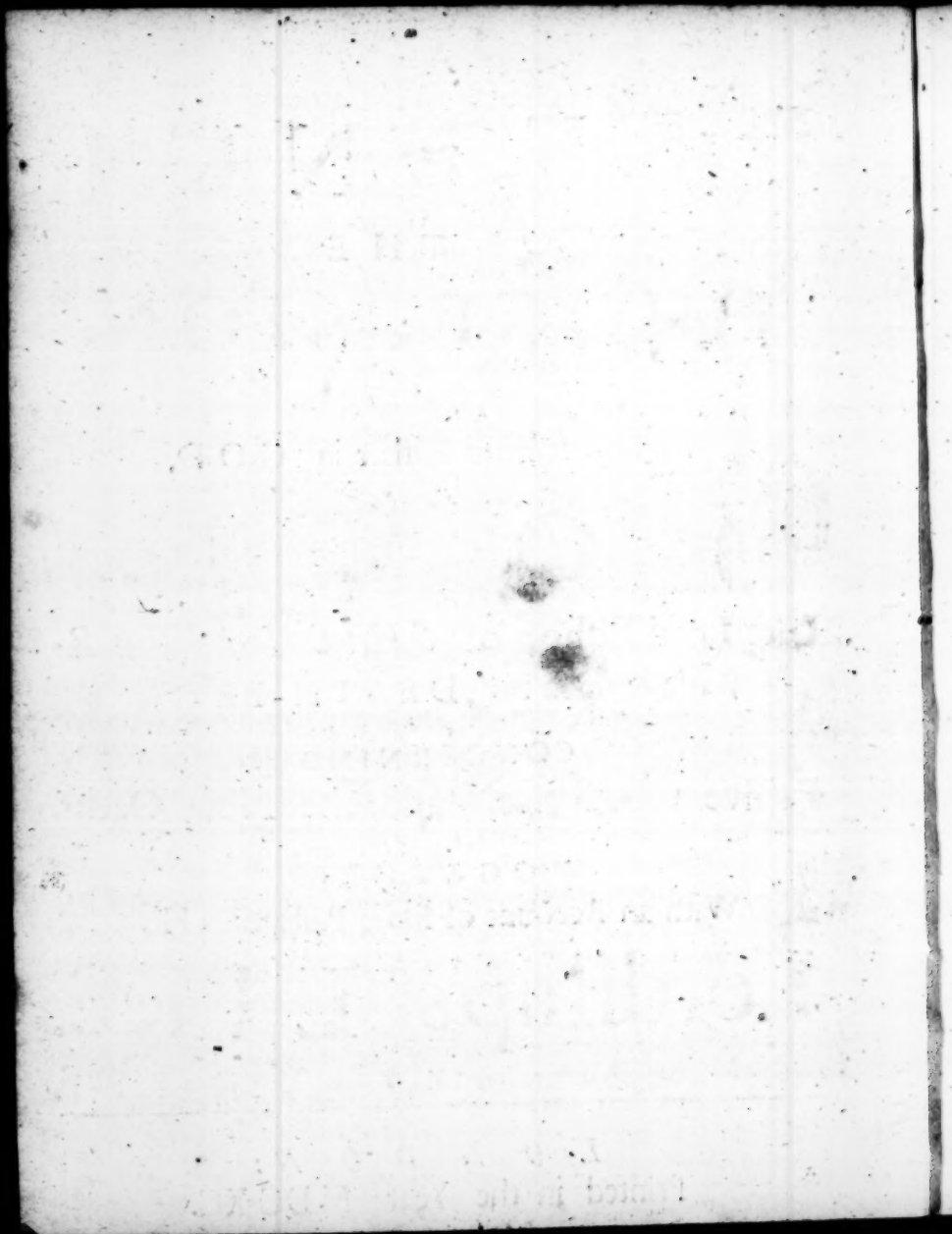
Lordship's L I F E.

Robert Jenkin.

H & L.

L O N D O N :

Printed in the Year MDCXC.



A

Defence, &c.

S I R,

I Here send you the *Profession* which you have heard that the late *Lord Bishop of Chichester* made a little before his Death; and perhaps, it may be convenient to give you some short Account of the most remarkable Passages of his Life, to shew by what steps and degrees he arriv'd at that presence and greatness of mind, which appeared so eminent in the latter part of it. For his whole Life was so steady and uniform, that those who knew him well, would scarce have believed that he could leave the World at such a time as this, without giving some considerable Testimony of that Loyalty which he had always practis'd, and endeavouring to do that further Service to the Church at his Death, which he had resolv'd to perform, if it had pleas'd God to grant him a longer Life among us. And when I have given this Relation, and have set down the circumstances of his Lordships reading and signing the *Profession*, it will be time enough afterwards to consider, the very unkind Reflections that have been made upon it, in

a Letter from one who Styles himself a *Person of Quality in the North*, to his Friend in *London*.

I shall begin, Sir, with his Admission in the University, for he had not been long there, before it was his Fortune to become a very early Sufferer for Loyalty. In the 13th year of his Age, he was admitted in *St. John's College in Cambridge*, under the Tuition of *Mr. Cleveland*, and he always retained a great Reverence for his Tutors Memory, and a very high regard for that Society: That College being made a Prison for the Royal Party, he could not be exempted from the number, but was kept a Prisoner there, when he was now but Batchelor of Arts; but making his escape from thence, he fled to *Oxford*, and went into the Kings Army, in which he continued four years. He was at *Basing-House* when it was taken, and at *Wallingford*, which was one of the last Garrisons that held out for *K. Charles the First*; and he behaved himself honourably upon all occasions.

After the Death of that excellent Prince, which ought never to be mentioned by *English-men*, but with shame and lamentation, when *K. Charles the Second* was kept out of his Kingdoms, and there were now but little hopes of his return, yet when the Royal Cause was at the lowest, his Lordship refused the Engagement with the same Constancy, wherewith he had rejected the *Covenant* before, though it is well known, Sir, what Specious Arguments were used for the taking it, and that many were induced to take that, who could never be brought to have any tolerable thoughts of the *Covenant*. Before the Restauration, he entred into Episcopal Orders, when it was made a Crime to do so, and when many forsook the Church as quite ruined and left, after the Defender of
our

our Faith was barbarously Murthered, and his Children, in their tender years, were driven by such as called themselves Protestants, into Popish Countries, and exposed to the hazard of seeking a worse Religion with better usage ; from whence we must date all our dangers of *Poper*y and *Slavery*. It was at that very time, I say, Sir, that the good Bishop of whom I am now Writing, was ordained a Priest of the Church of *England*. So far, he always was from judging of things by the success.

Soon after the Kings return, he was presented to the Vicarage of *Leeds*, in *Torkshire*, and his Induction was violently opposed for no other Reason, but his known Loyalty. But he was not long to stay at *Leeds*, tho they had now learned to put a juster value upon the Happiness they enjoyed in him, for being appointed to Preach the first *Synod-Sermon* at *Tork*, after the Restauration, he did it with so great applause, that *Dr. Hitch* (afterwards Dean of *Tork*) desired a Copy of that Sermon, and without his Knowledge shew'd it to *Dr. Sheldon*, then Lord Bishop of *London*, who soon after sent for him, and removed him to *St. Botolphs*, in *Bishopsgate-street*. That Wise Prelate knew how fit a choice he had made, to give an example of *Uniformity* to the City at that juncture ; for his Lordship was then as strict himself in observing the Canons and Rubricks, as he was afterwards careful that others should observe them. He could never fancy any *Dispencing Power* in himself, nor could think any thing *little* or *formal*, where his own Duty, and the Order and Decency of Gods Worship was concerned.

Here, Sir, I must not omit that which his Lordship always valued as the principal Honour and
Felicity

Felicity of his Life ; I mean, his Friendship with His Grace my Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. His Grace was Dean of *St. Pauls*, and his Lordship, I think, Rector of *St. Botolphs*, when he happened to be in waiting at Court in his Graces month ; and from that beginning of their acquaintance, my Lord Arch-bishop had ever a high esteem for him, and received him into his particular favour and affection.

About eight years after he removed to *Tork*, and was Residentiary of that Cathedral Church, and perhaps, never any Residentiary was more useful and beneficial to that Church, either in asserting the Liberties, and recovering the Rights of it, and in managing and securing the Revenue, or in maintaining Order and Decency there. I shall give you but one instance, Sir, which will shew both his Zeal for Gods Honour, and his Courage in defending it.

There was an ill Custom at *Tork*, of walking in the Body of the Cathedral, during the time of Divine Service, and the common sort of people would oftentimes be rude and loud, so as to disturb, and almost interrupt the Service. His Lordship had, from the beginning, resolved to break this custom ; and it happened one *Shrove-Tuesday*, that the noise was more than ordinary, and the numbers greater, insomuch that he could no longer refrain himself, but went down to them from his Seat in the Quire, and with his own Hand, plucked off some of their Hats, and spoke to them either to come with him, and join in the Worship of God, or to go out of the Church. They were all daunted, and without much disturbance went out ; yet the *Vergers* had no sooner shut the Doors, but they pressed so hard upon the *South Door*, that they broke the Iron Bar which fastened it, and forced

forced it open, and as is usual with a Rabble, they heated and animated one another into Rage and Madness, and when he came out of the Church, followed him home in a tumultuous and furious manner, with reviling and threatening Language, and had undoubtedly done him some mischief, if his Gravity and Courage had not over-awed them; but then growing still more Insolent and Outragious, they plucked up the Rails before the *Deanery*, and his House, and beat down the Wall in diverse places, and had taken off a great deal of the Tiling, and would most certainly have Plundered the House, and in all probability would have demolish'd it, and have killed him, if in that instant of time, Captain *Honywood*, who was then Deputy-Governour, had not come with some Soldiers to his Rescue.

All this while not one indecent and timorous word escaped him, but when he was desired to withdraw into a Neighbouring House, his Lordship refused to do it, saying, *That he was in a good Cause, and upon his own Ground, and if they would have his Life, he could not help it, Gods Will be done, but he would endanger no body else.* His whole Behaviour in this dangerous accident was much admired, and a peculiar Providence seems to have been his Protection in it, for though Bricks and Stones, and whatever else could be found, were thrown in at him, yet it pleased God, that nothing hit him. He was forced to keep a Guard in his House a good while after, for they threatned to burn it; and my Lord Mayor was as great a Friend to the Rabble as some Magistrates have been since, and refused to give him any assistance.

I have been the more particular in this business, that I might pay a just acknowledgement to the Memory

memory of that Worthy Gentleman, who Rescued him from such imminent danger: But I have concealed the Name of a Man, whose carriage was so unsuitable to the Trust and Honour of his Place.

The driving the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, was, in *St. Hierom's* opinion, the greatest Miracle that our Saviour ever did, and though there was nothing Miraculous in this Action of the late Bishop, yet thus much must be acknowledged, That it was a manifest argument of a true Christian Courage, and conformable to the Example of Christ himself.

He was then but lately come to *Tork*, and afterwards no man was more beloved than His Lordship, and I believe, he is no where more lamented than in that City, for both the City and Conntry have expressed as great a sorrow for his Death, as they did a desire before, that he might fill the Vacancy of the Archbishoprick.

But to pursue, Sir, in few words, the remaining course of his Lordships Life. He was nominated, by the Right Honourable the E. of *Derby*, to the Bishoprick of *Man*, and from thence translated by *K. Charles* the Second, to the Bishoprick of *Bristol*: and now my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, considering and highly approving his affectionate vigilant care over his own Clergy, and his whole Diocess, and his wisdom and vigour in administering the Discipline of the Church, chose him out as one most fit to be intrusted with a Commission, to visit the Diocess of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

In the time of *Monmouth's* Rebellion, his Lordship being in *London* at the Parliament, the K. considered that the presence of a Bishop, whom he could so entirely confide in, and who was so well beloved and esteem-

ed in his Diocess, would be infinitely serviceable to him, in so important a place as *Bristol*, the better to keep that City, and the adjacent Country, in their Duty. His Lordship, as soon as he had notice of His Majesties Pleasure, went down thither with all readiness, though he was then so much indisposed with the Gout, that he was carry'd into his Coach. In this painful and dangerous Journey, he very narrowly escaped the Rebels; but he hastened down, to meet new and worse dangers there. And the K. was so well satisfy'd with his Behaviour and Conduct, in so seasonable and singular an instance of Obedience, that he took the first opportunity of shewing him some mark of his Favour; and before his return from *Bristol*, nominated him for the Bishoprick of *Chichester*.

Some time after, he held another Archiepiscopal Visitation at *Salisbury*, with the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and other Commissioners; concerning which, I shall crave leave to use my Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter's* words, in his first Letter to my Lord Chamberlain, and shall only say, *That by Gods Blessing they composed several old differences and animosities, and restored Peace and Unity to that Church.*

The following part of his Lordship's Life, is so well known to you, Sir, and to the whole Nation besides, that it will be needless to give any account of it. I need only mention, that his Lordship was one of the Seven Bishops, who by their Christian Courage and Patience, disarm'd the Rage of our Popish Adversaries, in the height of their Pride and Triumph. Nothing greater can be said, than that he was of their number, and that after he had prevented the sending down of the Declarations into his own Diocess, he came in great haste to *London*, and joined himself to the rest of my

Lords the Bishops, and had his share in the whole management of an affair, as honourable as, perhaps, any thing that has been done in any Age.

He had afterwards a very worthy part in those applications the Bishops made to His Majesty a little before the Revolution, when they interpos'd themselves, as it were, between the K. and his People, and with all the humility and submission of Subjects, and yet with all the freedom and courage which was necessary to the Preservation of three Kingdoms, offered that advice in which nothing was wanting that could have made those Nations happy, if it had been sooner taken. It must not be omitted that in the Convention he shew'd a fearless Honesty, spoke often, and always like himself. He never gave one Vote but what was agreeable to his former practice, and has left his unchangeable Loyalty upon Record in his *Protestation*.

From the whole course of His Lordship's Life, it is evident that he was most willing to hazard all but his Salvation, for the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and the Safety of the Nation; which has made me often wonder to see, how angry some Men can be at those, who will not be perswaded to take an Oath against their Consciences, as if they had not that Zeal for the Protestant Religion, which such Men would be thought to have: More Candor and Charity, one would think, might be expected from them to their Fellow-Sufferer; nay, to those who suffered for them.

His Lordship discoursed frequently, concerning the Oath, with several Learned Men, and particularly, held correspondence by Letters, with an Eminent Divine who endeavoured to prove to him the Lawfulness

ness of it. His Lordship received his last Letter a little before his Death, and could answer it only by a contrary *Profession*.

That awful sense, indeed, which he ever had of the Divine Majesty, made him very impartial in considering the force and obligation of his former Oaths, which he had often taken (as most Clergy-men have) and he could not but abhor the thoughts of taking that, which he believed to be a contrary Oath. He considered, that the Day of *Death*, and of *Judgment*, are as certain as the 1st of *August*, and the 1st of *February*, and acted accordingly.

This is not said, Sir, to cast any reproach upon those whose Consciences can allow them to take the New Oath : No, it would ill become me to make the least Reflection upon others, when I am describing a Life so eminent for Charity ; and you know, Sir, what great respect and esteem His Lordship had for very many of them. But this I only say, that he acted with the same Resolution of mind all along in this matter, as if he could have foreseen that he should not long survive his *Suspension* ; whereas no Man, perhaps, of his years, could have more Reason than His Lordship, to expect yet a much longer life ; for he had none of the usual Infirmities of a declining Age, except only a Fit or two, very seldom, of the Gout. He had the full enjoyment of all his Faculties both of Body and Mind, till his last illness, which seiz'd him with a sudden trembling, and a malignant Fever, with Convulsions, in ten days time took him away from us. In his younger years he languished under a long Indisposition, and was reduced to a very weak condition by a *Hætick Fever* ; to which he was thought naturally inclined, his Mother having dy'd

of that distemper. But after he had once overcome that, he attained to a settled state of Health, which by a Life every way strictly regular, and an exact Moderation in all things, was continued to him till his last sickness; and he never seem'd either to himself, or others, to be in better health, than on that very day on which he fell sick; And during that short, but very severe sickness, he had a vigorous strength of Body, and the perfect use of his Reason, until the day before he dy'd, yet from the beginning there was small hope of his Recovery, and the Symptoms daily grew worse and worse.

It was on *Tuesday, August 27.* between seven or eight in the Morning, that he spoke to Mr. *Jenkin* his Chaplain, to come and write by him, and his Lordship dictated to him the Recognition and Profession following.

Being called by a sick, and I think a dying Bed, and the good Hand of God upon me in it, to take the last and best Viaticum, the Sacrament of my dear Lords Body and Blood, I take my self obliged to make this short Recognition and Profession.

That whereas I was Baptized into the Religion of the Church of England, and sucked it in with my Milk, I have constantly adhered to it through the whole course of my Life, and now, if so be the Will of God, shall dye in it; and I had resolved, through Gods Grace assisting me,

me, to have dy'd so, though at a Stake.

And whereas that Religion of the Church of England, taught me the Doctrine of Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience, which I have accordingly inculcated upon others, and which I took to be the distinguishing Character of the Church of England, I adhere no less firmly and stedfastly to that, and in consequence of it, have incurred a Suspension from the Exercise of my Office, and expected a Deprivation. I find in so doing much inward satisfaction, and if the Oath had been tendered at the Peril of my Life, I could only have obey'd by Suffering.

I desire you, my Worthy Friends and Brethren, to bear Witness of this upon occasion, and to believe it as the Words of a dying Man, and who is now engaged in the most Sacred and Solemn Act of Conversing with God in this World, and may, for ought he knows, to the contrary appear with these very Words in his Mouth, at the dreadful Tribunal.

[Manu propria subscripsi,

Johannes Cicestrensis.

This

This Profession was Read, and Subscribed by the Bishop, in the presence of

Dr. *Green*, the Parish-Minister, who administred.

Dr. *Hicks*, Dean of *Worcester*.

Mr. *Jenkin*, his Lordships Chaplain.

Mr. *Powell*, his Secretary.

Mr. *Wilson*, his Amanuensis ; who all communicated with him.

You see, Sir, His Lordship had a certain Prospect of Death, and looked upon himself as a dying Man, when he made this *Profession*, and scarce expected to finish the reading of it, but apprehended that he might probably be seized upon by Death, and called before the *dreadful Tribunal*, before he could utter these words.

As soon as his Chaplain had Written it, His Lordship ordered him to read it over to him, which he did, and then the Bishop read it over himself, in a distinct and audible Voice, and it was afterwards transcribed by his Amanuensis, and then at the Celebration of the Holy Communion, was again audibly and distinctly read over by his Lordship, and subscribed by him immediately before his receiving the same. When the Communion was over, he called to Mr. *Powell* his Secretary, and ordered him to make an *Act* of it: The Lord Bishop of *Norwich* coming to visit him soon after, His Lordship pray'd him to look over the Paper, and then desired the Dean of *Worcester* to carry it with him to *Lambeth*, and discoursed of it to my Lord Bishop of *Ely*, who that evening made him a visit ; so that nothing perhaps, in all its circumstances, was ever more solemnly and deliberately done.

Now it is not easie to imagine what exceptions can be made against a *Profession*, which carries with it such evident proofs of a truly Charitable and Primitive Spirit : Yet the *Person of Quality in the North* you see, Sir, is much offended at it, and has been pleased to Print a Letter full of angry Objections against it. It seems his *just Tribute of sorrow for Bishop Lake's Death* was soon paid, that he could at *this time of day* be at leisure to pay another sort of *Tribute to his Friend in London*, of a different Passion. His Civility and due respect for the memory of the late Reverend Bishop, I should with all thankfulness most readily acknowledge, if I could think it not designed, with the better Grace and more Ceremony, to cast a Blemish upon one of the last and most solemn Acts of his Life.

He rightly observes that his Lordship was sufficiently distinguished, and his fame secured to all Posterity, in that he was one of the Seven Bishops, whose Courage and Constancy will remain upon Record until Time shall be no more. But how his being a great Maintainer and Assertor of the Protestant Religion, and the English Liberties, is inconsistent with his being a great Champion, as he calls it, for Passive Obedience, I cannot understand. I can assure him none of *Bishop Lake's Friends* ever thought one of those two honourable Characters would obscure the other, but that they never could be so entire and truly honourable, as when they are together.

What the design must be of publishing the Paper, doth not at all concern his *Friends*, who had no Hand in it, but that His Lordship had a great and good Design in making that *Profession* before he left the World, I imagined had been very obvious to Persons of less Rank and Quality, than this Gentleman would be thought to be of. The

The Reasons for the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, all men of Reason, methinks, should know, could not be contained in so small a compass, and are not well consistent with the design of a *Profession*, which should be short, in full, and expressive terms; and of this nature are all the *Professions*, which the Bishops of Old used to send one to another, at the first Promotion to their Sees. This was all they did in their perfect health, and to expect a long Series of Reasons and Arguments, of Objections and Answers, from a Man upon his Death-Bed, is next to expecting that *one should arise from the Dead* to convince us. Rather let us hearken to *Moses and the Prophets*, to *St. Peter and St. Paul*; let us read *Romans 13.* and *1 Pet. 2.* with the best Commentators upon them; let us read the Works of our own Divines, who to their honour have been wanting to no Subject, and as little to this as any. I suppose he is very well satisfy'd with the *Creed*, though it contain no Arguments, and this being a *Profession* of Practical Doctrine, as that is of Faith, he had as little Reason to expect Arguments here: And this he confesses himself in effect, when he thinks he can take any advantage by it; why else does he say, *That in his Opinion, it would more have become His Lordship, if, as the Office for the Sick directs, he had made a Confession of the Christian Faith, contain'd in the Apostles Creed?* But do not Athiests and Hereticks expect Reasons of us for our Christian Faith? And then the Profession of that too, must have been really impertinent, because He had certainly given the World as convincing proofs of his Opinion before. If I might be so bold; Sir, I would venture to say, that in my Opinion it would have more become the Person of Quality to have spared this Reflection; for he that professes

professes he dyes in the Religion of the Church of England, professes I hope sufficiently that he believes the *Christian Faith contained in the Apostles Creed*. Yes, says the Letter, *unquestionably he believed it*, and I can assure him he as *unquestionably* professed it: and as the Office for the Visitation of the Sick directs, declared, that he *stedfastly believed* all the Articles of it. For his Lordship, who was always so strict and punctual to the Canons of the Church, would have no part of the Office omitted.

But he had *submitted to a Suspension, and had certainly given the World as convincing proof of his Opinion, as if he had printed a thousand Volumes about it*. And some have written so many Volumes, that it was thought they had given the World convincing proofs enough of their Opinion, tho they have not yet submitted to a Suspension. But there are those who would persuade the World, that the Case of the Bishops is very different from the rest of the Clergy, and would make it a point of Honour in them, rather than of Conscience. His Lordship therefore declares that he had incurred a Suspension *in consequence* of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience. And that as he had *inculcated it upon others*, so he thought himself obliged to practise it upon this and all other occasions. He now only declares what he before so often taught, to testify to the World that he was still of the same mind, that he found no reason to change his Judgment; that no Ambition or worldly Interest had tempted him to preach this Doctrine; but that he was ready to forfeit all, even Life it self, rather than contradict or abandon it: That what he had professed before the World, he was not afraid now to dye in the profession of; and to profess it before God in the

most solemn act of conversing with him in this World, and when he every moment expected to be summoned to appear before him in the next.

These, Sir, are I think very weighty and obvious Reasons why the Bishop should make that *Profession* : and he had as good reason to mention his being *bred and born* in it : For tho this be an Argument that a *Turk or Pagan*, or, as he afterwards observes, a *Papist* may use for his Religion as well as we, yet it is so far upon that account from being an improper Argument, that it would indeed be a reproach to our Religion, if we might not be allow'd to use an Argument in its behalf, which has its weight in every Religion besides. The late Bishop said but the same thing in effect that the Primitive Bishop *S. Polycarp*, one that was Disciple to the Apostles, and constituted Bishop by them, had said before in other words, and to another purpose : Who, when at his Martyrdom, he was offered his Life if he would revile our Saviour, answered, *That he had served him now 86 years, and he never did me, says he, any injury, and how can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour.* This was thought so considerable as to be recorded in Ecclesiastical History, and delivered down to Posterity, tho, I suppose, it can be no more imagined that Christians only lived then to 86 years of Age, than that only Men of the Church of *England* now are *bred and born* in their Religion.

You see, Sir, how conspicuous all the true marks of a Primitive Piety are in this *Profession* ; but his Lordship had not that only reason to say that he was educated in this Doctrine, and was resolved never to abjure or renounce it, tho it were at the peril of his Life; because after so long experience he could discern no ill in it, but thought it Orthodox, he had this further

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Euseb. Hist.
Eccl. 14. 15:

Reason to say it, He had lived to hear it affirmed that *Passive Obedience* is a Doctrine of but 40 or 50 years standing, and his Testimony alone being sufficient to confute that Error, it was most proper and requisite for him to aver, that he was educated in this Doctrine; and that it was not only as old as he could remember, who was now 65 years of Age, but that he was taught it as an ancient Doctrine, and always lookt upon it to be of the same Antiquity among us, with the Reformation it self, and part of that Primitive Doctrine which was then revived and established in the Church of *England*. This, Sir, was the way of maintaining the Truth of Old, by pleading against Hereticks, and if some Men in our days, take the confidence to say that so material a Doctrine is but of 40 or 50 years date, shall it be cavill'd at, if a Reverend and Learned Bishop declares that to his own certain knowledge it is ancients than so, and that he received it from his Childhood, as the constant Doctrine of the Church of *England*, from the time of the Reformation?

And the Truth is, this is what most offends the *Person of Quality*: He says, *That two Inferences may very easily be made from that Paper, which he suspects were the chief aim in Publishing. The first is to insinuate, that from the beginning of the Reformation, ever since the Church of England was restored to its Purity, Passive Obedience was the Corner-stone of it. Whatever his meaning may be in calling it the Corner-stone, I must tell him plainly, that Passive Obedience has been ever the Doctrine of the Church of England. And when he says afterwards, so that it seems none were accounted her true Sons, that did not hold it; if he means that none besides were accounted to hold her Doctrine*

whole and entire, or to hold all the Truths which she teaches, the design of the Papar is to assert it too.

But he proceeds to argue, *Now if this be true, here's the whole Body of the Clergy in Q. Elizabeth's days cut off from the Church of England at one blow: For 'tis not the Opinion of one or two private Prelates, but the whole Convocation, who agree not only in giving the Queen so very large Subsidies, but also in declaring the Accounts on which they did it, and that was, Assisting and Protecting the Scottish and French Protestants; and for abating all Hostilities against the true Professors of Gods holy Gospel, and for advancing the free profession of the Gospel, within and without Her Majesties Dominions; and a great deal more to this purpose, as may be seen at large in the Preambles to the three Subsidy Bills, given 5 Eliz. c. 24. 35 Eliz. c. 12. and the 43 Eliz. c. 17. so that 'tis apparent it was their practice for 40 years; and he hopes their faith also; for he cannot be so uncharitable as to think they would sin against their Conscience, and purchase Damnation at so dear a rate, as those vast summs they gave for the assistance of those, that he is sure did resist their Kings, and who according to the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, ought to have been looked upon, and used as Rebels.*

In answer to this I shall prove two things, 1. That *Q. Elizabeth* did not assist either the *Scottish* or *French* in any Rebellion, but always declared the contrary. 2. That it was the Doctrine of the *Church of England*, at that time, that it is unlawful for Subjects to resist, and that therefore our Divines justify'd the *French* and *Scotch*, no otherwise than upon Principles which are consistent with this Doctrine.

r. *Q Elizabeth* did not assist either the *Scottish* or *French* in any Rebellion, but always declared the contrary. But here I must premise, 1. That for Sovereign Princes in War, to serve themselves of the Treachery and Revolt of another Princes Subjects, is no more than what is always done, and is by the Law of Nations held lawful, and the necessity of Affairs seems to require it. If this be thought contrary to the ordinary Rules of Justice, it must be reckoned among those Instances which Bishop *Sander-
son* brings to shew that *Justitia Politica* and *Justitia
privata* have not in all the same adequate measure; and
that it is not necessary that the Rules of Justice, whereby
the Councils and Actions of Princes and States, in their
mutual Relations, are to be measured, should be precisely
the same with those which measure the dealings of private
Men one with another. The Law of Nations being the
same to Princes in their Transactions with one another,
that the Law of each Country is to Subjects; and
therefore it can be no good consequence that Subjects
may Rebel, because Foreign Princes may take advantage
by their Rebellion, to recover their own Rights,
or to secure their Dominions: For if the Law of Nations
allow the one, the Laws of every Country do
certainly forbid the other. 2. That it is Lawful for
Princes to make the best terms they can for Subjects,
who have been serviceable to their Interest in a Just
War, though by Rebellion against their own Prince.
And if this opportunity be taken to advance the true
Religion, and to deliver the People from Persecution,
when no injury is done all this while to the Prince
himself, this is not to protect Rebels, but to prosecute
their own Rights, and to promote the Interest of
Religion, by bringing good, as it were, out of evil;
and

Cafe of a Mi-
litary Life,
Confid. 4. N. 2.

and this is all which it can be pretended *Q. Elizabeth* ever did

*Camden Part 1.
An. 1559. p. 31.
Edit. Amstel.*

*Hist. Fran. P.
559. 662. vid.
Stow, p. 641.*

Upon *Q. Mary's* Death, and *Q. Elizabeth's* first Accession to the Throne, the *Q. of Scots* Quartered the Arms of *England* with her own; and she, and in her Right, her Husband the *Dauphin of France*, assumed to themselves the Stile and Title of King and Queen of *England*, which had brought a dangerous War upon *England*, both from *France* and *Scotland*, if the Death of the King of *France*, *Henry II.* had not prevented it. *Mezeray* says expressly, that the supply of 3000 Men, commanded by *La Brosse a Bourbonnois*, which was sent into *Scotland*, had Orders, *Whel they should have subdued the Rebels, to March directly into England, and conquer that, with the assistance of the Catholics, for the benefit of Q. Mary, who pretended she was Heiress thereof, and had already taken the Arms into her Coat: And he says, it was upon Information of this that Queen Elizabeth furnished the Rebels with 1200 Men, and those together in one Body, besieged the Port of Leith. And Queen Elizabeth by her Treaty with the Confederate Lords, was only to assist them, in driving the French out of Scotland, after which they were still to continue in their Obedience to their Natural Queen; and before they besieged Leith, the Lords sent and offered to the Queen-Regent; that if she would send away the French Forces, the English should likewise be sent back, and they would return to their Obedience: And afterwards it was by Q. Elizabeth's Mediation, that a Peace was concluded. Burnet's Hist. Ref. Part 2. Book 3. An. 1559. p. 412, 413. But though the year after a Peace as concluded at *Edinburgh* between the three Crowns, yet *Francis the Second*, and *Mary Queen of Scots*; refused to ratifie it; nor would*

*Camden ibid. p.
44-51.*

would she be perswaded to ratify it after her Husbands Death, which happened the same year. One Article of which Treaty was, That they should no longer assume the Title and Arms of *England*; and it was by agreement to have been sworn to within 60 days.

An. 1560. *Camden* ib. p. 55.

Id. ibid. p. 44.

In the mean time, the Commotions in *France*, in the Minority of *Charles IX.* between the Princes of the Popish, and the Reformed Religion, soon spread the infection hither, and *Arthur Pool* and his Brother, Great Grand-children to *George D. of Clarence*, Brother to *Edw. IV.* and *Anthony Fortescue*, who had Married their Sister, with others, were accused of conspiring to withdraw themselves into *France*, upon a design formed of Landing an Army from thence in *Wales*, there to Proclaim the Queen of *Scots* Queen of *England*, and to declare *Arthur Pool D. of Clarence*; all this they confessed at their Tryal, only they protested they had no design to do it, during the Life of *Q. Eliz.* but had credited some who pretended to foretel that she should not outlive that year. Her Majesty had afterwards advice, that the *Guises*, to bring over *Anthony King of Navarr* to their party, had offered him his own Kingdom of *Navarr*, and to give him *England* as a Dowry in Marriage with the *Q. of Scots*: and the Pope was to dissolve his former Marriage with *Jane d'Albret* his Queen, upon pretence of Heresie, and to depose *Q. Eliz.* and towards the performance of all this the *Spaniard* was to furnish Money: Her Majesty sent over Sir *Henry Sidney* her Ambassadour to know the certainty of this, and to endeavour a Reconcilement between the two Factions; but this proving in vain, she had designed another Embassy for the same purpose, when in the mean time several of our

Camden. an.
1562. p. 66, 67.

Vid. Mezeray
Charles IX. an.
1561. p. 678.

Camden ibid.
p. 69.

Mer-

Holinshed an:
1562. p. 1195.

Merchant Ships were seized in the Ports of *Bretagne* by publick Order, our *Merchants* imprisoned, and their goods confiscated; and some were killed in standing upon their defence, and the rest found no redress upon complaint: And the Ambassadors Letters directed to her Majesty were intercepted.

Camden *ibid.* p.
72. & Stow's
Chronicle, p.
648, &c.

The Queen therefore fearing lest a Descent should be made upon *England* from *Normandy*, enters into a League with the Prince of *Conde* and his party; and the very same day publisheth her Declaration, directed jointly to the *English* and *French*; and setting forth that her design was not to recover that Province which of right belonged to the Crown of *England*, but to preserve it to the King of *France* now under age; and to defend it from the Tyranny of the *Guises*, who besides their Cruelty to the Protestants, did injuriously keep *Calais* from her, and were now endeavouring to seize upon the Ports of *Normandy*, from thence to land in *England*, which they reckoned already their own. So that she was necessitated to take these measures, unless she would be wanting to the young King her Brother and Confederate, and to the Peace of Christendom, and would tamely betray both her Religion and her Life it self: And not content with this, in a point wherein she was always so jealous of her Honour, she afterwards caused a larger Account, of the reasons of her proceedings to be published, tho not in her own Name.

Thuanus *Hist.*
Tom. 2. lib. 33.
p. 194. B.

This happened in the fourth year of her Reign, and for the carrying on this War it was that the Clergy gave her the Subsidy the year following; and in the Act use these words, which are thought to be so much in favour of Resistance: *And finally, pondering the inestimable charges sustained by your Highness as well*

well of late days, in reducing the Realm of Scotland to Unity and Concord; as also in procuring as much as in Your Highness lyeth, by all kind of godly and prudent means, the abating of all Hostility and Persecution within the Realm of France, practised and used against the Professors of Gods holy Gospel and true Religion, and in defending and preserving this your Highnesses Realm and Natural Subjects, in Christian Peace and Tranquillity, against all assaults of Foreign Enemies, hitherto during all the time of Your Majesties Gracious and Happy Reign, From all that has been said of the former years of her Reign, I suppose it will be allowed that the Queen had a Just Cause of War, both with Scotland and France, and that she did not defend Rebellious Subjects, but maintain her own Rights, and if *she reduced the Realm of Scotland to Unity and Concord, and procured as much as in her lay, by all kind of godly and prudent means, the abating of all Hostility and Persecution within the Realm of France,* I think her Clergy had great cause to thank her for it, and so had both Scotland and France too. 'Twere strange if it should be unlawful for Her Majesty to procure Unity and Concord, and to abate Hostility and Persecution, where she had Just provocation to bring Fire and Sword; and nothing could be more to her praise, nor deserve higher expressions of gratitude from the Clergy, than this, That she made Religion so much her Care, and omitted no opportunity of promoting the Interests of it

This may suffice to be said of this Subsidy, and when the other Subsidy Acts were passed, Her Majesty defended the best Cause in the World, as shall be shewn hereafter; in the mean time I shall beg your patience, Sir, while I shew that the Queen always

D

declared

declared against any Protection of Subjects in their *Resistance*, which she always called *Rebellion*.

As soon as Queen *Elizabeth* had certain Intelligence

(a) *Quam primum hæc certis nuntiis Elizabetha comperisset, detestata ex animo hanc effrænem in Principem sororem & vicinam subditorum insolentiam; (quos perfidos, rebelles, ingratos & crudeles subinde appellavit) misit Nicolaum Throgmortonum in Scotiam, ut apud Confederatos de hac in Reginam insolentiâ expostularet, &c. Camden Part 1. An. 1567. p. 119.*

of the Imprisonment of the Q. of *Scots*, (a) *detesting from her Soul this unruly insolence of Subjects, against a Princess her Sister and Neighbour, (which Subjects she upon all occasions term'd Perfidious, Rebellious, Ungrateful and Cruel) she sends Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to expostulate with the Confederates concerning this Insolence towards their Queen, and to take*

some course that she might be restored to her former Liberty and Authority; that the Murderers of the King might be punished, and the young Prince might be sent into *England* for his safety, and not into *France*. Mr. *Camden* says, That he took the Relation which he gives of this affair, from Sir *Nic. Throgmorton's* own Letters, and from them he relates, (b) *That Sir Nicholas defended the Authority of the higher Powers from Scripture, against Knox and other violent Preachers; he argu'd, That the Queen was naccountable before no Judicature but that of Heaven, that she could be brought before no Tribunal upon Earth, that no Magistrate had any Authority in Scotland, which was not derived from the Queens Authority, and might be revoked by her.*

(b) *Reginam nullius judicio præterquam cœlestis Judicis subjacere: pro nullius Tribunali in Terris posse sisti: nullam esse Magistratus auctoritatem in Scotia, quæ a Regina auctoritate non est delegata, & ab ipsâ revocabilis. Ibid. p. 120.*

When the Queen of *Scots*, was through fear of Death forced to a Resignation, she immediately certifies the Queen of *England*, by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, that it was extorted from her in Prison, and that she had done it by his advice, who had before assured her, that

that it was a void Act. This shews the confidence the Queen of Scots then had in *Q. Elizabeth*, and whatever hard measure she may be supposed to have met with here, yet this must be acknowledged, and it appears even from *Melville's Memoirs*, that *Queen Elizabeth* all along openly favoured her Cause against her Subjects that were in Rebellion, and when she suffered some of them to take shelter in *England*, the Historian makes this remark upon it, That it was because the Queen of Scots received *Oneal*, and some *English Rebels*, into her Protection; and some design between her and the Pope was then in agitation against *England*, and she had besides refused to do the Queen Justice upon certain Robbers and Pirates. But *Queen Elizabeth*, he says, (c) *from her Soul* abhorred the insolence of the Scots in abdicating their Queen, (d) and used her earnest endeavours to restore her to the Throne, or if that could not be, to procure her as good terms as she could.

But (e) while the Queen and her Council intended to use the Queen of Scots well, her own officious Friends, by the frequent Plots that were in a succession of many years carried on, sometimes by open Rebellion, as in the North of England, and in Ireland, but more frequently by secret attempts, brought on her the calamities of a long Imprisonment, and Death in the Conclusion. But *Q. Eliz.* in a treaty with the King of France, at a time when she most withstood the return of the *Q. of Scots* into Scotland, to be restored to her Kingdom, even then she used these words, to the French

Vid. Thuan.
Hist. lib. 50.
An. 1571. p.
769. D. & p.
772. E.
Camb. lib. p. 96.

(c) Elizabethâ Scotorum insolentiam in abdicandâ Reginâ ex animo averfante. *Camden. ibid. p. 153.*

(d) Adeo ut Elizabetha cum Moravio aliisq; Scotis per Woodum, qui ab Epistolis Moravio, maximo-pere egerit, de eâ in pristinam regiam dignitatem restituendâ. *Ibid. p. 166. vide Spotswood's Hist. An. 1569. B. 1. p. 230.*

(e) Burnet. *Reform. Part 2. Book 3. p. 417.*

Ambassadours; *The Example of abdicating Princes is indeed pernicious, and to be condemned to the lowest pit of Hell; but let the Scots answer for that, I do unwillingly mention it, and from my Soul disapprove of it. I have reason to call these the Queens own words, since Mr. Camden in his Preface declares, That he never sets down any Speeches, which are not the very same that were spoken, or at least only drawn into a narrower compass; he never feigns any.*

Abdicandi Principes exemplum sane perniciosum est, & infra inferos amandandum. Sed hac de re responderint Scoti, ego quidem invita hæc recolo, quæ ex animo improbo. *Camden part. 2. an. 1572. p. 246.*

Orationes nisi ipsissimas, vel in pauciora redactas non admiscui, multò minus fluxi. *Id. Prefat.*

Camden part 2. p. 283, 284. an. 1575.

Id. an. 1576. p. 291. Elizabetha vero ad quam Albinus missus fuerat verita ne aliorum ope destituti Belgæ, ex desperatione socius nobiscum ierent, seque & res suas Francis committerent, eos pecuniâ juvit, XL aureorum CIO mutuo datis, pluraque insuper promisit, monuitque; ut interim in Philippi fide manerent; brevique Hispanos Belgio dimissum iri sperarent. *Tbuan. Hist. Tom. 3. lib. 62. p. 154. D.*

When afterwards her Majesty was intreated by Ambassadours purposely sent from the *Low Countrys*, to take *Holland* and *Zealand* into her possession, or at least into her Protection, she returned them this Answer, *That it did not appear to her, how she could in Honour, or with a good Conscience, take those Provinces into her Protection, much less into her Possession: And when she supply'd them with Money, it was on condition, that they should neither change their Religion, nor cast off their Prince, nor receive the French into Holland, nor refuse any reasonable terms of Peace, which Don John of Austria should offer: For being now afraid that Holland should fall off to the French, she was as Camden says, so desirous of retaining those Provinces in their Duty to the King of Spain, that she omitted no occasion of doing him kind offices, and of preserving Peace.*

At last, when after many provocations and acts of Hostility,

Hostility, her Majesty entred into a League with the
 States, she immediately dispatched Mr *Wilks* to the King
 of *Spain*, to give him her Reasons for so doing, that
 there might lye no aspersions upon her, as if she had
 fomented a Rebellion; "And since ill men, whose bu-
 "siness it is to make discord among Princes, had en-
 "deavoured injuriously to defame her, as if she had
 "promoted the War in *Holland*, she makes it her Re-
 "quest to the King and the Governours there, that
 "they would call to mind how often, and how ear-
 "nestly she had given them notice of the evils which
 "threatned them. How carefully she had endeavour-
 "ed by frequent messages to *Don John* and to the States,
 "to keep them in their Duty and Obedience to the
 "King; nay, when those most rich Provinces were
 "offered her to take them into her possession, how
 "she took them not so much as into her Protection.
 "Lastly, when things were come to the greatest extre-
 "mity, how plentifully she supply'd them with Money,
 "lest thro necessity they should have been forced to
 "seek another Master, and to disturb the Peace new-
 "ly proposed. But when she understood that *Don*
 "*John* would not accept the Peace, she protested most
 "solemnly that she not only admonish'd him, but
 "did even threaten him to it. Whether these things
 "be unworthy of a Christian Princess, studious of
 "Peace, and most desirous to do any kindness to the
 "*Spaniard* her Ally, let the *Spaniard* himself, and all
 "Christian Princes judge. Then she advises him to re-
 "store the States to their Priviledges, and to remove
 "*Don John* from the Government, to whom the
 "States bore an implacable hatred, and who had en-
 "tered into private Machinations with the Q of *Scots*
 "against her Majesty. So that she could expect no
 "thing

Quasi Rebel-
 lionem in Bel-
 gio foveret.
Canden part 2.
 an. 1577. p.
 201. *Stow* p.
 682.

" thing but certain danger from the *Low Countries*
 " while he govern'd there. And now, when she saw
 " how many Forces he had rais'd, and how many
 " *French Auxiliaries* he had in readiness, her Majesty
 " professes, that she had promised the States her as-
 " sistance, both to preserve the *Low Countries* to the
 " *Spaniard*, and to defend *England* from danger: who
 " had likewise engaged to her, both to continue in
 " their Duty to the King of *Spain*, and to make no
 " further innovation in matters of Religion. But if
 " his Majesty did not approve of this, but resolv'd by
 " the violation of all their Rights and Priviledges, to
 " enslave them, and use them as a conquered People,
 " she could not be wanting both to the defence of her
 " Neighbour, and the preservation of her own E-
 " states. And if the States on the other side should
 " renounce their Allegiance, and not stand to the
 " terms agreed upon, her Majesty would immediately
 " turn her Arms upon them.

Camden an.
 1585. part 3.
 p. 439.

Stow p. 709.
Touanushist.
Tom. 2. lib. 83.
 p. 78 & 79.

And afterwards Her Majesty alledged the many
 injuries received from *Spain*, and the necessary preser-
 vation of her own Kingdoms, in an Account which she
 caused to be published in *Latin, Italian, English* and
French, in defence of her taking the States into her
 Protection. So notorious is it, that *Q. Elizabeth* al-
 ways abhorred to be thought to foment Rebellion:
 And when by the necessity of her affairs she was driven
 to protect the United Provinces against her most
 inveterate Enemy, she was most solicitous to clear
 her self from that imputation; and to justify all her
 proceedings upon this account. It may be sufficient
 to refer the Reader to her several Declarations that
 are set down at large in *Stow's Chronicle*.

If any one shall presume to say that these her protestations were not real, as that is highly injurious to the memory of so excellent a Princess, and is in great measure already confuted by matter of Fact, so it doth not at all concern the case in hand, unless we must suppose that the Convocation pry'd into the depth of her Councils, and was acquainted with all the Mysteries of State.

Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the Crown in 1558. she received the States into her Protection in the 27th year of her Reign, in the 30th happened the Spanish Invasion, and in the 35th was the Subsidy granted which is next objected. Though the Clergy only say, *That they grant it in consideration of the great and importable charges that Her Majesty had already, and was like hereafter to sustain, as well in the necessary Provision of all kinds of Munition, for the better fortifying both by Sea and Land of Her Highnesses Dominions, and withstanding Forreign Invasion, as also in the provident and needful prevention of such and the like intended attempts, manifestly tending to the disturbance of the Peace, to the utter overthrow of the present happy State of this Her Highness Realm, to the miserable ruin of divers other Princes and Countries associate and near adjoining, and to the Extirpation and Rooting out of the sincere Profession of the Gospel of Christ both here and elsewhere.* They further add, *That the malice of the Adversaries of Gods Truth, sworn Enemies to Her Majesty and the Prosperity of this Realm, did daily increase.* These Clauses will need no justification nor explaining, if we consider that the Spanish Invasion happened but five years before. And that the Queen was now maintaining by her Forces in France, the Right of Hen. IV. against his Popish Subjects, who kept him from the Throne.

The

The Subsidy in the 43 *Eliz.* was given when an Army of *Spaniards* was Landed in *Ireland*, as the preamble mentions. The words whereupon the objection is grounded must be these, included in this Parenthesis, (*For who has or should have a livelier sense, or better remembrance, of Your Majesties Princely Courage and Constancy, in advancing and protecting the free profession of the Gospel, within and without Your Majesties Dominions, against so many and so mighty Adversaries thereof, or Your most Christian care to maintain Peace within Your Kingdom, and among your People, than your Clergy?*) How the Queen advanced and protected the free profession of the Gospel we have seen before. She omitted no opportunity in her Treaties or in her Wars to protect the Protestants; but she never took up Arms in their Defence, unless the War were upon other accounts justifiable, and was so far from abetting Subjects that resisted for a free profession of Religion, that on the contrary she obliged the *Dutch* not to revolt from the King of *Spain*, nor to change their Religion, or reform the publick Worship by their own Authority without his consent.

2. It was the Doctrine of the Church at that time, that it is unlawful for Subjects to resist, and therefore our Divines justify both the *French* and *Scottish* Protestants no further than is consistent with this Doctrine. Having fully prov'd the former particular, I shall be shorter in the proof of this, which indeed is plainly consequent from the former. For if, according to the Doctrine of those times, it had been so glorious a thing to assist Subjects who had taken up defensive Arms against their Prince, the Queen would undoubtedly have urg'd that, as the chief and most justifiable Cause of War: so far would she have been from

from dissembling or excusing it, and further yet from declaring her abhorrence of it, and protesting that she made War upon other accounts. Dr. *Whitgift* was Archbishop of *Canterbury* when the two last Subsidies were granted, and Dr. *Bancroft* Bishop of *London* when the last was given; and therefore it cannot be supposed that the two Convocations designed to approve of any Resistance that had been made upon account of Religion, either in *France* or *Scotland*. For this is directly against their constant Doctrine, who always maintain that Subjects have no Right to defend Religion by force, much less to introduce a Reformation in opposition to the Supreme Magistrate. Dr. *Bancroft* condemns all such proceedings as unwarrantable, and particularly the proceedings of the Parliament in *Scotland* 1560. which is but three years before the Subsidy Act 5. *Eliz.* Dr. *Cosin* the famous Civilian, who was in so high Esteem and Favour with Archbishop *Whitgift*, that he first made him Chancellour of *Worcester*, and afterwards Dean of the Arches and Vicar General, in his answer to a *Factionous Libel*, intituled, *An Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament, &c. published by Authority An. 1584*, calls those men *Firebrands of Treason, who in the case of Religion, by their Books, would Arm inferiour Magistrates against their Sovereigns*. Append. to the first Treat. p. 194. Nullus enim novi dogmat's Author sum: nec novi quicquam assero, quod ante me a viris doctissimis non fuerit dictum scio enim multo plures mecum sentire, quam cum iis, quibus adversari audeo. *Saravia*. Archbishop *Whitgift* likewise was a great Patron to *Saravia*, Mr. *Hookers* most intimate Friend; who in his excellent Book concerning *Christian Obedience to Princes*, speaks as high for Passive Obedience as any of

Vide Whitgift
Exhortation
to Magistrates
before his answer
to the
Admonition
and Defence
of the Answer
to the Adm.
Traff. 20. p.
694, &c.
Dangerous
Positions and
Proceed. Book
1. cap. 3. p. 13.

our Divines have done since, and in his Epistle before it, he declares that he *teaches no new Doctrine but what had been taught by most Learned Men before, and that he knows he has many more of his side than against him.* Dr. Babington was consecrated Bishop of Landoff 1591. two years before the Subsidy-Act, 35 Eliz. And in his Notes upon Num. 16. hath these words. 4. *The Earth clave asunder, &c. memorabile exemplum contra seditiosos, quo Deus ostendit sibi curae esse Gubernatores, & non impunitos fore, qui resistunt. Simile in Ephraemitis contra Jephtham insurgentibus, in Absalone contra Davidem, in Zedechia contra Regem Babylonis. Rom. 12. Qui resistit ordinationi Dei, &c. Prov. 24. Time Dominum Fili mi, &c. non cum seditiosis. Magistrates are Men and may do wrong, yet we must not revenge by Rebellion, Saul unjustly Persecuted David, yet David would not hurt him when he had opportunity. Bishop Babing. comfortable Notes upon Numbers, c. 16. Part 4. p. 66. Vid. Part. 2. p. 65. Dr. Fulk in his confutation of the Rhemish Notes upon the N. T. printed 1589, on Rom. 13. says, that the Protestants; God be thanked, at this day and always are obedient even to wicked Princes unto Death and Martyrdom. I shall add but one Testimony more, and that is of an Author beyond all exception in this matter, I mean Bishop Bilson, whose Authority is now frequently brought by the great Champions of Resistance. And of whom, for his being too loose in his Principles of Government, K. Charles I. testifies that the King his Father had that opinion of him, that he shew'd him some favour in hope of his Recantation; But whether he recanted or not, he could not say. Yet this Bishop in his Book concerning the true difference between Christian Subjection, and unchristian Rebellion, printed 1586. per-*

Reply to Hen-
ry's second
Paper.

used and allow'd by publick Authority, and dedicated to the Queen, declares this to be his Judgment of the Civil Wars in France.

In France, the K. of Navarr and the Prince of Conde might lawfully defend themselves from injustice and violence, and be aided by other Princes their Neighbourhood, if the King, as too mighty for them, sought to oppress them; to whom they owe not simple Subjection, but respective Homage, as Scotland did to England, and Normandy unto France, when the Kings notwithstanding had bitter Wars each with other. The rest of the Nobles that did assist them, if it were the Kings Act that did oppress them and not the Guises, except the Laws do permit them means to save the State from open Tyranny, I will not excuse: and yet the circumstances must be fully known before the Fact can be rightly discerned, with which I confess I am not so exactly acquainted.

This matter will be further cleared if we observe, that Francis H. being but sixteen years of Age when he came to the Throne, and Charles IX. but eleven when he succeeded him, several Books were written by Lawyers, to prove that the Government of France, till the King came to be 22 years old, belonged to the Princes of the Blood, and the King of Navarr being killed at the Siege of Roan in the beginning of the War, the Prince of Conde ought by the Law to have succeeded him in the Regency; and thus, as the Bishop of Salisbury observes, the Wars that follow'd after this could not be called Rebellion, since the Protestants had the Law and the first Prince of the Blood on their side, to whom the Government did of right belong. And the same Bishop observes of the Low Countries, that the *Latus*

Part 3. p. 281.

Burnet Reform.
Part 2. Book 3.
p. 415.

Reform. Part.
2. lib. 3. p. 416.

Et pour ce que nous voulons & desirons que tous les poincts, articles, dons, & promesses, confirmations & ratifications susdites, soyent & demeurent fermes & stables sans jamais les enfreindre. Avons promis en bonne foy, & jure sur les Saints Evangili-

les personnellement pour nous, nos hoirs, & successeurs, tenir iceux a tous generalement, assavoir aux Prelats, Monasteres, Hospitaux, Barons Chevaliers, villes & franchises, &c. a tous nos bons hoirs & sujets desdits Pays de Brabant, & d'autre Meuse, a leurs Successeurs, apres le trespas de nostre Seigneur & Pere fermes & stables, & de ne jamais faire, ny souffrir estre fait au contraire en maniere quelconque.

Et en ces, que nous, ou nos hoirs & successeurs, fissions, ou vouissions au contraire, par nous mesmes, ou par quelque autre, en tout ou en partie, comme et en quelque facon que se soit. En tel cas consentons, & ostroyons a nosdits Prelats, Barons, Chevaliers, villes, Franchises, & a tous nos autres Sujets, que a nos hoirs & successeurs, ils ne fassent, & rendent aucun service ou devoir, ny present obeysance en chose quelconque, ou aurons besoin, & les en voudrions requirer; jusque a tant que telle faute selon que cy dessus est dit, sera par nous ostee reparee & redressee, & en auront pleinement & entierement desist. A lesset de quoy nous voulons, commandons, & declairons, que tous officiers, qui seroient constituez au contrair de cette nostre joyeuse entree soient incontinent doportez, & en outre aussi, que tout ce, qui doresnavant se pourroit attenter allencontre de ce que dessus ne soit ny puisse estre tenu de valeur au temps avenir. Et le tout sans fraude en tesmoin & perpetuelle confirmation de ce que dit est, Avons nos Empereur & Princes susdicts fait mettre nos feaux a ces presentes. Donnés en nostre ville de Louvain de cinquieme jour de Juillet l'an de nostre Seigneur 1549. de l'Empire de nous Charles le 30, & de Royaumes de Castille & autres 34. Signé Charles, & aussi Philippes. Et plus bas par l'Empereur & Monseigneur le Prince, signé par l'Audiencier & primum Secretaire Verreyken seellé des feaux desdits Seigneurs Empereur & Prince en lacs d'or, & de soye noire. La Grande Chronique Ancienne & Moderne de Hollande, &c. par Jean Francois le Petit, Tome Second. Livre 10. p. 193, 194. In primis autem Brabantia & Ditiones ultra Mosam: ut Limburgum, Vale-kenburgum, Dalhemum, inter alia multa Latum Introitus, Additiones, Chartas, & Bullam auream observant: quibus precipua hæc continentur privilegia, &c. Si autem Dux Brabantiz in privilegia aut Legum Provincialium Chartas delinquat vel peccet, suove jussu aut permisso contra fiat, vasallos subditosq; ab omni fide & obedientia absolutos atq; liberos esse (nisi desistat, restauret, renuncietsq;) ex ipsis privilegiis typo impressis manifesto liquet. Habent & alie Belgarum Provinciarum similia privilegia. ita ut ipse Princeps non quod vult, sed quod privilegia, quæ ante inaugurationem ubiq; juramento confirmare tenetur, exigunt, facere debeat. Imò Belgas Privilegiorum vigore Principibus imperium omne abrogasse, atq; sequestrasse, Chronici libri liquido diversis exemplis demonstrant. E Meteorani Histor. Belgic. lib. 2. p. 33, 34 vid. Gron. de Antiquitate Reipub. Batavica p. 36.

Introitus had been agreed to by the K. of Spain, when he was received by the States of the Netherlands to be their Prince; and that by the terms of that Agreement they were disengaged from their Obedience, when he had broke the conditions of it. Ibid.

Upon these Grounds that Learned Author justifies the Queens Proceedings, both in *France* and the *Low Countries*, after all his search into her Reign, and into the Principles of the Reformation. And the Queen
her

her self in her Declaration of her Causes, why to arm her
 Subjects into France, alledged that she did it in behalf
 of the young King, and the Queen his Mother, to defend
 them from that illegal violence, wherewith they, and
 the good Subjects were assailed, as well as for the ne-
 cessary preservation of her own Kingdoms. And as
 her Declaration sent to the King of Spain, containing
 a Justification of her Proceedings with the States of the
 Low Countries, Dec. 20. 1577. setteth forth, that
 the Reason of her giving them assistance, was thereby
 only to defend them from Foreign Tyranny, to keep them
 in the Kings Obedience, from aliening themselves to any
 other Potentate, and to defend her self and her Domini-
 ons from the peril thut thereby she seeth manifestly to
 ensue. So in her Declaration of the causes moving her
 Majesty to give aid to the Defence of the people afflicted
 and oppressed in the Low Countries, given at Richmond,
 Octob. 1. 1585, the Queen saith, That she had often
 and often again most friendly warned the King of Spain,
 that if he did not restrain the Tyranny of his Governours,
 &c. she feared that the people of his Countries should be
 forced for safety of their lives, and for continuance of
 their native Country in their former state of their Liber-
 ties, to seek the Protection of some other foreign Lord, or
 rather to yield themselves wholly to the Sovereignty of some
 mighty Prince, as by the ancient Laws of their Countries,
 and by special Priviledges granted by some of the Lords
 and Dukes of the Countries to the people, they do pretend
 and affirm, that in such cases of general Injustice, and upon
 such violent breaking of their Priviledges, they are free
 from their former Homages, and at Liberty to make
 choice of any other Prince to be their Prince and Head.
 The proof whereof, by examples past, is to be seen and read
 in the ancient Histories of divers alterations of the Lords
 and

Vid. Stowe p.
 648, &c.

Stowe p. 684.

Vid. Joannis
 Maurij Gul.
 Auric. lib. 10.
 p. 412. An.
 1576.

Primed, London,
 An. 1585. p. 89.

and *Eadies of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand and other Countries to them United, by the States and People of the Countries, and that by some such alterations, as the Stories do testifie, Philip the Duke of Burgundy came by his Title; from which the King of Spain's Interest is derived, &c.*

The Prince of Orange likewise in his (a) Answer to the Commission for Apprehending him, in his (b) Justification of himself against his Calumniators; and in his (c) Apology written against the King of Spain's *Bann or Proscription*, when he had set a price upon the Princes Head, insists upon the particular Priviledges of those Countries, whereby it was expressly provided, that upon the violation of the said Priviledges, obedience should be no longer due from them to the King of Spain, till their Grievances were redressed, and reparation made. And the (d) States themselves in their *Edict*, whereby they declare the King of Spain to have forfeited his Right to those Provinces, justifie their proceedings in the same manner.

(a) *Reponse du Prince d'Orange &c. La Grand Chronique &c. Liv. 10. p. 171.*
 (b) *Justification du Prince d'Orange. Ib. Liv. 10. p. 176, &c.*
 (c) *Apologia illustrissimi Principis Willelmi Dei Gratia Principis Auriaci, &c. ad Proscriptionem ab Hispaniarum Rege in eum promulgatam, &c. apud Carolum Sylvium Typographum Ordinum Hollandiæ MDLXXXI. p. 57, 58, 74.*
 (d) *Joint aussi que la plus part desdictes Provinces ont toujours receu, & admis leur Princes, & Seigneurs a certaines conditions, & par contractes & accords jurez. Lesquels sie Prince vient a violer, il est selon droit de decheu de la Superiorité du Pays. Edit des Estates Generaux declarans le Roy Espagne decheu de la Seigneurie des Pays Bas. Grand Chronique, &c. Liv. 13. p. 429.*

Moreover, the Reasons moving the Queen to assist both the *States* and the *French Protestants*, for the Preservation of her self, and her own Countries, were as great and as urgent, as can be imagined. For besides the King of Spain's aim at an Universal Monarchy, several Popish Princes were so desperately resolved upon

on the destruction of all those, they called Hereticks, that the Queen, whom they looked upon at the same time, and by the same Usurpation, to keep Popery out of *England*, and the Queen of *Scots* from her Throne, could by no means think her self in any secarity, but was obliged to take every advantage, with all her Strength and Policy, to oppose these endeavours. Frequent Conspiracies made in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, were discovered at home. *Sebastian K.* of *Portugal* had designed an Invasion from abroad, and the King of *Spain* actually attempted it. (a) *Henry II.* King of *France*, had declared to the Prince of *Orange*, that the Duke of *Alva* was contriving how to extirpate all Protestants, not only out of *France*, and the *Low Countries*, but out of the whole Christian World besides, and opened unto him all the secrets of the *Spanish* Counsels, supposing him then to be of *Alva's* Party, because he came with Powers to conclude a Peace, and was intrusted with other affairs of great importance. The Emperour *Maximilian II.* had been forced to conceal his Religion, as he confessed to the Prince of *Orange*, for the dread he ever had of the *Spaniards*, after he had had Poyson given him by Cardinal *Granvelle*, when he was King of *Bohemia*. *Charles V.* is thought likewise to have been a Papist only in outward Profession: Many thousands in *France* had been destroyed by Massacre: *Henry III.* who was always a *Roman* Catholick, and *Henry IV.* who was forced to profess himself one, before he could enjoy his Crown, were both suspected as too remiss and indifferent in their Religion, and both at last fell a Sacrifice to that zeal, which nothing but blood

Camb. Hist. Pam. 2. An. 1578. p.

(a) Sed quo tempore eram in Gallis, & Rex Henricus, ipse mihi suis verbis exponeret Ducem Albanum consilia agitare de extirpandis e Gallia, Belgio, & toto orbe Christiano, quotquot Religionis essent suspecti, &c. Apol: Princ. Aur. p. 44. Vid. Joannis Meursii Gulielm. Auriac. lib. 1. p. 7. An. 1559.

ib. p. 21.

Meyeray Hist. Franc. 2d. p. 660.

blood could satisfie. What then could a Protestant Princess expect, but such desperate attempts as were so often made against her Life? And what could she do less, than to be always upon her Guard, to keep that Fury at a distance, and to suppress that Violence, which she saw rage in her Neighbour Countries, and which had so often threatned her own? What, I say, could she do less, than arm against a Common Enemy, and omit no opportunity for her own defence? So that though the War were not so justifiable on the part of the States, or of the French Protestants, yet her part in both Wars would be justifiable beyond all dispute. For as the Declaration concerning the Forces sent into France, saith, *Her Majesty understood very certainly of an open Destruction and Subversion there put already in ure, and likewise intended against all States and Persons professing the Gospel abroad.* And as another Declaration (a) expresseth it, *Her Scepter, Diadem,*

(a) Declaration of the Causes, which moved the chief Commanders of the Navy of Her Most Excellent Majesty, &c. to take and Arrest certain Ships of Corn, &c. prepared for the Services of the King of Spain, &c. Printed, London, 1589. p. 5, & 14.

Kingdom, Living and Life, were greedily thirsted after by the Spaniard, so Potent and so Malicious an Enemy; and the Spaniards are therein challenged to deny (if they can) that they solicited many English Subjects to Rebel, before Her Majesty so much as thought of the relieving her ancient Confederates, by her just and honest means.

From all that has been said, I think it is far enough from being pretty evident from matter of Fact, that Passive Obedience was not the Doctrine of the Church of England, for forty years together, in Queen Elizabeths Reign.

He next says, That he desires to stand or fall by the example of David, which is so much recommended to us

in the second Homily against Rebellion, for, says he, We are sure that David took up defensive Arms against Saul, and he thinks Subjects would be very unreasonable to desire any more. Yet there are those unreasonable Subjects in the World, who if you allow them Defensive Arms, will take up Offensive Arms too, especially since they quickly learn to argue, that to kill him who would kill them, is necessary for their own Defence; and killing, I think, is some sort of offending.

But how doth it appear that *David* took up Defensive Arms? The Homily tells us of no such thing, but on the contrary, *That when for his most painful, true and faithful Service, King Saul yet rewarded him not only with great unkindness, but also sought his Destruction and Death by all means possible: David was fain to save his Life, not by Rebellion, or any Resistance, but by flight, and hiding himself from the Kings sight. The Scripture tells us as little of this Defensive Resistance: For tho' we read of the helpers of David, and the helpers of the War, and that in his flight he had a considerable number about him, yet we do not read that they ever helped him against Saul, any otherwise than to secure his flight, and after his Death they helped him to the possession of his Kingdom against the House of Saul, (2 Sam. 2, &c.) and they fought for him against the Amalekites, (1. Sam. 30) and other Enemies. But most especially, these his Followers seem to be designed to secure his Succession to the Throne; to which he was anointed, and he consulting with Samuel (1 Sam. 19. 18.) and with Gad (1 Sam. 22. 5.) they might by Gods appointment direct him to retain so many about him, God having purposed by their means to bring him to the Crown, notwithstanding the opposition of the House of Saul. And in the mean time they gave*

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him notice of *Saul's* motions, for he had constantly Spys out, and fled from place to place to hide himself. Tho he might reasonably hope to vanquish *Saul's* Army, as he did the *Philistines* (1 Sam. 23. 5.) yet after he had overcome them, and had delivered *Keilah* out of their hands, and had designed to stay there for some time, when God answer'd him that the men of *Keilah* would deliver him up, if *Saul* should once approach the Town, and not suffer him to escape; he took the first opportunity to depart from thence, and made no opposition to *Saul*, but went into the Wilderness, and fled from one strong hold to another.

And as *David* twice enquired of the Lord, before he durst venture a Battel with the *Philistines*, and went not down to *Keilah* to fight with them, till he had this peremptory command, *Arise, go down to Keilah, for I will deliver the Philistines into thine hand*; so he might perhaps think, that God had designed it as an especial place of Refuge for him, and that there he might stand upon his defence, since God himself, in whose disposal are all things, had by him rescued it from the hands of the *Philistines*, and thereby assigned it as he might imagine, to him and his Followers; believing therefore that he had a Title by Divine Right to this place, which God had miraculously put into his possession. He again inquires of the Lord, whether *Saul* would come down, and if so, whether the men of *Keilah* would deliver him into his hands, and he probably expected such an answer as should satisfy his Conscience, and discharge both himself and his own Followers, with the men of *Keilah*, from their Allegiance to *Saul*. But as soon as he understood that he was mistaken in the design of Gods late dispensation towards him, if he expected Commission to use
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any such extraordinary means, or that God would in any wise release him from the common obligations of all Subjects; then David and his Men, which were about six hundred, rose and departed out of Keilah, and went whithersoever they could go.

Thus in constant danger of his Life, he fled from place to place, and when Saul was twice at his mercy, he rather chose to run the same dangers over again, than to do the only thing in the World, which could deliver him out of them. His followers were of another mind, they were for arguing from Providence: *Behold the day of which the Lord hath said unto thee, behold I will deliver thine Enemy into thine hand, that thou mayst do to him as it shall seem good unto thee, 1 Sam. 24. 4.* And Abishai could scarce be restrained from killing him, *God hath delivered thine Enemy into thine hand this day, now therefore let me smite him I pray thee, with the Spear even to the Earth at once, and I will not smite him the second time. (1 Sam. 26. 8.)* They thought that God, who had by his Prophet declared that David should succeed, had now by special Providence brought Saul under his Power, and if he would twice neglect such an opportunity, which God himself had put into his hands, what was it but a plain contempt of God, and a throwing away his own Life; this must of necessity forfeit Gods favour, and provoke his wrath, for he who had rent the Kingdom for much less provocation from Saul, would never bestow it upon one who so little valu'd the Divine favours, as to refuse it when it was twice offered. For could he think that this was not Gods doing, was not a deep sleep from the Lord fallen upon Saul, and upon his whole Army? *1 Sam. 26. 12.* and would he again let him go? You took up only Defensive Arms indeed, but God now calls you

to Offensive Arms. He bids you strike, or rather your Arms are defensive still, when you have no other way to defend your own Life, or to continue in Gods favour.

This, Sir, has much more plausibility in it than the Arguments which some Men used from Providence, in the times of the late Rebellion, and I am affraid, many that pretend to be only for Defensive Arms, would have turned them into Offensive, upon much less inviting circumstances. But *David's Heart smote him*, for cutting off but the Skirt of *Saul's Robe*; and he looked upon all these concurring circumstances of Providence to be only for his tryal, not for an approbation of the Fact. I shall say no more of this, for the same Reason that he gives, *because it has been enlarged upon by better Pens.* But as he refers us to the second part of the Homily against Rebellion, so let me refer him to the last, and let him see there, whether King *John's* Subjects took up only *Defensive Arms* too, and whether the same Arms are allow'd by that Homily, which we are so often told are allow'd by his Charter, and then I must desire him to explain *x4 Car. 2. cap. 3.* where it is said, *That both or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot, nor lawfully may, raise or levy any War, offensive or defensive, against His Majesty, his Heirs, or Lawful Successors.*

The Person of Quality cannot pass by the Epithet of the distinguishing Character of the Church of England, without some Animadversions on it. And 1. He asks his Friend, whether he thinks it necessary for particular Churches to have particular distinguishing Doctrines; for his own part, he thinks it very inconvenient, but hopes his Friend will correct his Error, if he be in one. I shall willingly leave that task where he has left it, but as to the

the thing it self, whether *distinguishing Doctrines* be convenient or inconvenient, that is according as the Doctrines are, good or bad. No doubt it is inconvenient to have bad distinguishing Doctrines, but it is as certain that it is very convenient for a Church to have distinguishing Doctrines, provided they be good ones, unless a Church can be obliged to err for Company, and to avoid distinction; which will not very well agree with the Text, that forbids us to *follow a multitude to do evil*, nor with the practice of the Primitive Christians, when the Orthodox were *so few in comparison, that had there not been some Names of Note among them, they would hardly have been reckoned a Number*. But it agrees admirably well with the Principles of Popery, thus to avoid distinction, which has its numbers to boast of when nothing else is to be said. We have been often told by Papists, almost in the same words, that this Writer upbraids us with now, *That if Passive Obedience be the distinguishing Character of the Church of England, so truly it may still continue if we please, for he believes there is no other Church so fond of it as to rob us of it*.

But there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism; and St. Paul reproves the Corinthians, because one cryed he was of Paul, and another of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ. And must not then those that held one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, necessarily distinguish themselves from all that held more than one? And if some would say they were of *Paul*, and some of *Apollos*, and some of *Cephas*, might not others distinguish themselves from them, by saying they were of Christ?

But by this Doctrine he pretends we distinguish our selves from *all other Churches in the World, and so from*

from the Catholick Church: And why Bishop Lake, or
 or any body, should value a Doctrine so much on that score,
 is that he cannot comprehend. But he may comprehend
 if he please, that it was never pretended that this
 Doctrine is taught no where but in our Church. We
 know very well, and can prove, that it was taught
 in the Primitive Church, and is taught in other Pro-
 testant Churches at this day. But this is evident by
 fatal experience, that Passive Obedience is the *distin-*
guishing Character of the Church of *England*, by Law
 established, whereby it is distinguished from the sepa-
 rate Congregations among us, both of Fanaticks and
 Papists, and to justify this distinction, we have the
 expresse Testimony of several of our Princes since the
 Reformation, and of the Laws themselves too, that
 are still in force; which abundantly shew how dan-
 gerous the Principles of other Perswasions are to the
 State, as well as to the Church.

This, Sir, evidently explains his Lordships mean-
 ing, when he styles Passive Obedience the distinguish-
 ing Character of the Church of *England*: Yet if
 other Churches have not preserv'd this Doctrine in its
 Purity as ours has done, as we would not provoke
 them to a Comparison, so we have no reason to be
 ashamed of it. But that they have taught this Do-
 ctrine, might be proved from the Writings of many
 of the most Learned and Pious Foreign Divines; and
 particularly, from a Book of a * *French Protestant*,
 lately written, who in the midst of Persecution,
 writes in defence of Passive Obedience, when he at the
 same time suffered what we have feared.

* Traité du
 Pouvoir abso-
 lu des Souve-
 rains, &c. à
 Cologne. 1685.

But I shall not pretend to give you, Sir, a second
 part of the History of *Passive Obedience*: I shall only
 say, that when his Lordship saw this Doctrine treat-
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ed in the vilest and most opprobrious Language, and compared to the most absurd Doctrines of Popery, even to Transubstantiation itself, *by such as value themselves notwithstanding upon their being Members of the Church of *England*: He had then too great occasion to declare, that he had ever this Notion of the Church of *England*, that it was as upon other accounts, so upon this particularly distinguished from Popery and Fanaticism, that it never taught the resisting and deposing Doctrines, as the opposite Parties have both done.

Nor doth this imply, that all who have taken the Oath have thereby renounced the Church of *England*, as he would insinuate, nor so much indeed as that they have renounced this very Doctrine, tho' whoever hath renounced it, the Bishop truly did suppose, that they had so far departed from the Doctrine of our Church. But as there are several different Hypotheses to reconcile men to the taking of the new Oath, so there is but one of them which is thought inconsistent with the Doctrine of Passive Obedience. For Conquest, Abdication, the taking of the Oath in a lower sense, or with a Declaration, are held so well consistent with it, that some who are Zealous Advocates for the Oath, yet have lately written in behalf of Passive Obedience. And I believe if a computation could be made, of all who have taken it upon the account of some one or more of these Notions, those that have taken it upon contrary Principles, would not be much considerable either for *Note or Number*, though our Person of Quality should happen to be among them. One way, indeed, the Men of those Principles have to make themselves considerable, they are always most busy and violent, fancying that they
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have a share in Sovereignty, and valuing themselves upon their being nearer a Throne, than others dare presume to be. But I hope we shall not always see affronts upon Majesty pass for Wit, instead of Argument, and that Men will not always be suffered to be Wiser than the Laws. What Duty or Service can it be to Their present Majesties, to tell the people twice or thrice a Week from the Prefs, that Sovereign Princes are upon their good behaviour ?

I shall not doubt to say, that these who cannot take the Oath, yet wish better to Their Majesties than these their violent Adversaries, and in the end will prove better Subjects. Their Majesties are the two Persons in the World, whose Reign over them, their Interest and Inclinations oblige them most to desire, and nothing but Conscience could restrain them, from being as forward as any in all expressions of Loyalty. This is one of the strongest Temptations they meet with, and upon this account we have seen so great an example of Self-denial since the Death of *K. Charles II.* that the like can scarce be shewn in any Age ; in a Bishop to whose Care and good Instructions is in great measure owing the Protestant Succession to the Throne ; who so long has run all the hazards of the Court, and is still forced to decline the rewards of his eminent Services, with the same good Conscience wherewith he performed them. And in general, I have this one Request to make, to all who are true Sons of the Church of *England*, that they would be pleased but to consider with themselves, at what time in their Lives before, they took the Suspended Clergy to be the Men they now seem to be taken for ? Did they at any time till just now, suspect them to be so fond of suffering for an empty and groundless Opinion ? They can best judge

judge who were so lately in the same dangers with them, they acted then unanimously upon a Principle of Conscience, but considering men know how impossible it is, for all men to have the same sense of things in such a juncture as this. And must those of the Church of *England* only, not be allowed to have tender Consciences?

I perceive I am carry'd too far; but who can forbear to be concerned, to see some men lose their Charity, as fast as others are losing their Preferments? I believe the suspended Clergy as little regard the hopes as the fears of that Lay-Gentleman, who declares publickly and in Print, that *he hopes they will meet with little compassion*; they will excuse him his compassion, if he will but act with more Charity, and in his cooler thoughts seriously reflect upon the ill treatment he has used towards a Bishop who would have been a Glory to the Church in any Age, and he and many more, are reserved, by Providence, for Blessings to the present Age, if we will not deprive our selves of them. We have seen two snatched away almost at the same time, let us so lay it to Heart, as not to provoke God to send down upon us, those Judgments, which he is wont to deliver the *Righteous from*, by taking them away to himself.

These two good Bishops spent their dying Breath in recommending the Doctrines of Peace, and in following their Masters example, as far as it was possible for them, by bequeathing the Blessings of Peace and Unity to the Church; which is the best Legacy that any Bishop could leave, though it has been called so in derision by one, whose scurrility nothing can escape, since it has had the good luck to be mistaken by some for Wit. But it is not impossible, that a man, who

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would impose upon the present Government for Merit his Revenge and Malice against the last, may miss his aim in upbraiding the Government, and in pressing so importunately upon the people of Remembrance of his Sufferings. 'Tis natural to pity even the worst Malefactors in great misery, and under severe Punishments, our Passions often are too hard for their Crimes, and persuade us to hope the best of them; but for a man to be always *struggling* and kicking, and crying out, as if he were still under the *Last*, this can no more prove him innocent than it can make him so.

A Legacy of that nature could never be more seasonable, when the same Writer is not ashamed to say of the two Bishops, and the other Assistants upon the Scaffold, with the Unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, *That he was haunted and tormented by them at a dying hour, and tempted either to despair, or dye with a lye in his mouth*, only because they earnestly exhorted him to confess his *sin of Rebellion*. If his Principles could be maintained in a modest and Christian way, he would have avoided all Reflections upon the Persons of men, whom every one honours besides, or would not however have censured them for an Action, which is so highly to be commended in them. For sure there must go a strange deal of Uncharitableness to the Reproaching *such* men, for one of the best and most charitable Offices, which a Christian or a Divine can perform. With what face can it be said, that *they would have sent him out of the World with a Lye in his mouth*, when they would have persuaded him to confess the Truth, and to give Glory to God by a free and an open Confession? - He stood attainted as a Traytor and a Rebel, by Act of Parliament, and the House of Commons not long after,

ter, tho in another Session, in an Address to the King (no *Flattering* Address, but that noble one against the Popish Officers, and Dispensing Power) did expressly call *Monmouth's* attempt a *Rebellion*, and gave the K. hearty thanks for his Conduct and Care in suppressing it : And the Duke had himself in part confessed his Crime, as he did likewise in his Letter Printed afterwards ; how then could that Charity and exceeding Tenderness, which they used towards this poor dying Gentleman, deserve the vile Imputation of cramming a Lye down his Throat at the Block ? The two Bishops, who had that sad Office on the *Scaffold*, did and said nothing without the *consent* and *concurrence* of the two Reverend Doctors, who might at this time, expect better Quarter from him. But it is not in the nature of a Man so wonderfully exalted with the *Grinning Honour* of maintaining the established Doctrine of the Church all alone, to use common Civility to any of our Profession, or else he would never strike at so many excellent Persons at once ; at least, he would not so often and so abusively, reflect upon that admirable Letter to my Lord *Russel*, but would have had some regard for one, whom those, whose Judgment he durst not dispute, have another opinion of. But Their Majesties never called K. *J. Tyrant*, nor *Rebel*, though he has done it ; this is peculiar to the Gentleman of *Grinning Honour*. Yet no body has been worse affronted by him, than *Q. Elizabeth*, and the Parliaments and Convocations in her Reign, which he so often and so confidently talks of : He is every where insulting enough, but here he *tramples*, here he *fixes his foot* and triumphs. And to do him Right, he is the Inventor of this Argument, and the sole Proprietor too, however the *Person of Quality* came to encroach upon him, which was un-

kindly done: For if this Argument should chance to fail, as I think I have shewn it does, he will have nothing left him to boast of, but his *Grinning Honour*, and his blasphemous interpretation of the 13th Chapter to the *Romans*. In all other respects, he is not the mighty Champion he sets up for, but his confidence and his revilings are indeed unanswerable: For as he was lately told from the Pulpit, by observing that *the Angel would not bring any Railing Accusation against the Devil; for at that Weapon the Devil would have been too hard for him.*

If this be a Digression, Sir, I hope it is a very excusable one, since occasions are so industriously sought for, to asperse the Suspended Bishops; but what I have now said, is not so much to vindicate them, as to observe to you, that they have been slandered by him. For after the universal commendation and applause of the Kingdom, nothing could be added to compleat their Praises, but the Reproaches of such men as he.

The Writer of the Letter observes, That *King James has done more mischief by the divisions he has occasioned among us, than he could have done by his Persecutions.* And I beseech him, who raised these Divisions, they who desire only to enjoy their own Consciences in Peace, or those who fill the Nation with complaints, if a dying Bishop declares that he acted purely out of Conscience. What could tend more to the healing our Divisions than this, if men would but consider it, and make a due use of it? But when this Gentleman must needs know, that his Lordship at the same time received the Holy Sacrament, at the hand of a Reverend Divine who has taken the Oath, to insinuate that he would *hardly allow those who have taken the*

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New Oath, to be so much as Out-lyers of the Church of England, is a thing, I confess, that I can scarce reconcile to any degree of Charity. And can any thing inflame mens Minds, and widen our Divisions, more than such forced Interpretations of an Action which did so naturally tend to our Peace ?

There was indeed great Reason to hope that *the words of a Dying Man, just going to receive the Sacrament, would be the more credited, and make the deeper impression; for so good a Man could not be easily deceived himself, and at such a time it's certain did not design to deceive others.* Tho he doth the Bishop wrong to say he declared, that his *not taking of the Oath was the great consolation he had at that time.* His Lordship declared, 'tis true, that he found *much inward satisfaction* from it, but he had all the *Consolations* besides, as great as so good a man could have when he came to dye. The comfort of having always stood firm to his Duty, the remembrance of a well spent Life here, and the joyful hopes of a better in Heaven. But it was then most requisite, that he should particularly express his *inward satisfaction* as to this matter of the Oath, when Humour and Obstinacy, and any thing rather than Conscience, has been suspected to hinder Men from taking it; when some men could not be allow'd to suffer with as good a Conscience, as others to avoid suffering. 'Twas then certainly the most proper, and the most seasonable and charitable thing a dying Bishop could do, to declare that nothing but Conscience was the cause of his refusal; and that he now *enjoy'd the peaceable fruits of Righteousness*, in the testimony of a good Conscience for so doing.

This methinks should calm mens Tempers, or at least so far abate their Passions, as not to let them prosecute.

secute our *Divisions* into the other World, and suffer
 neither the Living nor the Dead to be at rest. All who
 have a true concen for the Church, and a just zeal a-
 gainst our *Divisions*, and the *Unreasonableness* of a new
Separation, can never better employ their Zeal, than
 by taking this opportunity from the Solemn Pro-
 testations of two dying Bishops, to incline men to
 more mild and favourable thoughts, and by using all
 their interest and endeavours to prevent that *Depriva-
 tion* which is much to be feared, will be of dismal
 consequence to this Church. To say nothiag of the
 rest of the Clergy, if so many *Bishops* should be *deprived*,
 against whom there is not the least exception,
 but that they cannot take a *New Oath*, who would
 be most of all carested by those, that are now so much
 displeased at them, if they would but be *Forsworn* : If
 others should be put into their Sees, who since wor-
 thy men will scarce be fond of being so preferred,
 must be much inferiour to them in all Qualifications,
 but that of taking an Oath ; these things must of ne-
 cessity lessen the Reputation, and weaken the Autho-
 rity of the Clergy, and in effect, ruin the Church,
 without any *Schism* or *Separation*. What could Papists
 do or wish more, than to deprive us of so many of the
 principal Guides and Fathers of our Church at once ?
 Now we are upon a design of *Comprehending* other
 Protestants, shall we have no regard for the *Metropo-
 litan* himself, and so many *Suffragan* Bishops of our
 own Church ? What great incouragement is there to
 be so active and sollicitous about a *Comprehension*, when
 they, to whose Care and Authority that chiefly belongs,
 must be excluded and deposed ? When they, who in
 that solemn manner, and with that danger to them-
 selves, told King *James*, that they wanted no due ten-
 derness

derness towards Dissenters, but were willing to come to such a temper, as should be thought fit, when that matter should be considered, and settled in Parliament, and Con- are now so far from being admitted into Parliament, or Convocation, that they are themselves called *Dissenters*, though not with much *tenderness* by our *Person of Quality*. If it be expected from them, that they should be content to suffer as much from Protestants now, as they were ready to undergo not much above a year since, from Papists ; yet what has the Church of *England* deserved, that it must be deprived of the benefit of their Government ? That Church which has so long stood the Glory and Strength of the Reformation, and was never more Glorious than under their Conduct ? And according to the support, which it receives from them, proportionable must its danger be in their Fall ? It is by this time sufficiently evident, that though the Church of *England* may be abandoned, though it may be betrayed, yet it cannot be overcome : But if we widen our Gates, to let in never so great Multitudes, and at the same time make no due application to retain those Governours, under whom we have been so successful, and who cannot be displaced, but to the common damage, this may increase our Numbers, but it will certainly diminish our Strength.

But if our *Divisions* be more mischievous than King James's *Persecutions* could have been, this seems to be a strong Argument for Passive Obedience, and perhaps in consideration of our Divisions, he is for *Passive Obedience* in a limited sense ; and when he says it is so necessary that the World cannot well subsist without it, he would have private Persons obliged to Passive Obedience but not *Communities* ; he proves it thus : For
although,

although, say he, in my private capacity, I ought to submit to, and suffer the greatest Injustice, rather than disobey the Lawful Magistrate, and disturb the Government; yet as I am an Englishman, I think I am as much obliged by all ties both Civil and Sacred, to defend and maintain the Government, and Constitution of which I am a Member, as I am to obey the King; and that being the primary obligation, ought to be discharged in the first place: but the safety of that being secured, Subjects ought to obey, without any other reserve. I am sorry, Sir, we did not know the Gentlemans *Quality* before, for though he has a *private Capacity*, as well as other men, yet as an *Englishman* he is a whole *Community*, and therefore has great Priviledges, and for any thing you and I dare presume to know to the contrary, he may have a *Charter* to himself to say and do what he pleases, to Kings and Bishops, and all the World besides. It is not for you and me, Sir, to meddle with matters of State, who are meer particular private Persons, though Persons of *Quality* and *Communities* may take greater Liberties. But this I will venture for once to say, that the Supream Power, where ever it is placed, in a *single Person* or in a *Community*, must be irresistable; and that a *Community* supposed not to be invested with part of the Sovereignty, can have no more right to resist than *single Persons*. For to say that *Communities* have a Power to resist, and that *private Persons*, as Members of *Communities*, have it too, as this Gentleman seems to mean, is such a diminution of Supream Power, as can never be consistent with it; for all Inferiours, whether *private Persons* or *Communities*, can have no Power but what is derived from the Supream; and therefore if they have a Right to resist that too, must be derived from the Supream Power, and so the Supream Power must destroy it self. He

He argues that Resistance may be Lawful to avoid the Subversion of the Government ; but if Subjects be no longer in Subjection to the Supream Power, the Government is hereby destroy'd : For what more manifest Subversion can there be than this, That Subjects are no longer in subjection, nor Governours can no longer be able to Govern, so that this Argument tends only to prove that Subjects may subvert the Government one way, rather than suffer the Sovereign Power to do it another : And upon the whole, if the Government must be subverted, they would have the doing it themselves.

And though it be generally said, that there is a vast difference in the case of Resistance, where the Government is Absolute ; and where the people enjoy larger Priviledges ; yet *St. Paul* takes no notice of this Distinction in his Epistle to the *Romans* ; and the people of *Rome* always so jealous of their Liberty, can the least of any people in the World be supposed to give themselves up to an Absolute Monarchy ? And we must have a strange Notion of things, if we can think that a *Roman* Senator, or Citizen, had no more Liberty and Property than his Slave ; or if he had, that he had not as much Right to defend it, as we can have to defend ours.

But let the *Roman* Empire be as absolute as we can imagine, yet it must be certainly bounded by the Laws of Nature ; and no man can ever deny, but that there may be Tyrants in all Governments, nor is there any Reason why Tyrants in one Government should fare better than those in another, unless perhaps, Tyrants who abuse the Power which is most absolute, and transgress the Laws of Nature it self, ought to be more punishable than those who abuse

a more limited Power; and therefore easily transgressed, and offend only against the Civil Laws, the sense whereof is more ambiguous, and the breach less Criminal and Injurious than that of the Laws of Nature; so that if any Tyrants in the World are to be punished or deposed, or can forfeit their Sovereignty, these must be they, who cannot be content with the most Absolute Power, but resolve to break through all bounds, and to offer violence to Nature it self, that they may hurt and ruine their Subjects.

He concludes with a Question concerning *London-Derry*, which he designed for a very Stabbing Question; but by his Favour, as he has managed it, it is no more to the point of Passive Obedience, than if it had been concerning the Siege of *Troy*. It is the Duty of Christians to pray for Righteousness and Truth, and Peace, to all Mankind, how strange a Question therefore is it, to ask whether the Suspended Clergy did not both wish and pray that *London-Derry* should be delivered out of the hands of merciless Butchers? He believes they did, because there were many thousands innocent Persons whom they never saw, and who never did them any wrong. The Inhabitants of *London-Derry* are but little obliged to him, for bringing them in so needlessly, and then urging such Arguments in their behalf, as might be urged for any City in the World besides; and the bigger, and the further off the City is, the better still is his Argument, though it should happen to be a little Rebellious. I hope they have much more to say for themselves, than that they had many thousand innocent Persons among them, whom the Suspended Clergy never saw, and who never did them any wrong.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to do some right to His Lordships memory, and I hope without offence,
if

if you can pardon me the trouble I give you of reading so tedious a Vindication, when there was so little need of any; but it might perhaps be interpreted an affront to a Person of Quality, when he is pleased to write Pamphlets, to take but a slight notice of him: And we have reason to thank him for this long Intermision from that sad part of the Relation, to which I must now return.

The same day in which his Lordship made this Recognition and Profession, he afterwards made his Will, and ordered a Clause to be inserted, declaring his stedfastness to the Church of *England*, as by Law established; for no worldly affair could divert him from that constant Zeal which he had for the Truth and Purity of Religion. His care for the Church took up very much of his thoughts, and when he had asserted her Doctrine, and had done his utmost towards the settlement of Truth and Unity, he with much satisfaction left her to his Protection, into whose hands he commended his own Spirit. His Faith towards God, his Charity towards all Men, and his cheerful Patience under so terrible a Disease, was indeed admirable, when his dear Relations and Friends about him, flattered themselves with hopes of his Recovery, he would often say, *that he knew the Symptoms were dangerous, and he believed mortal*, yet as he was willing to dye, so having lived in a constant preparation for Death, he was not at all discouraged at the sensible approaches of it, but took his final leave of his Lady, and of his two Sons, with the greatest presence of mind, as well as with all the Pious tenderness of the best of Husbands, and of Fathers. He said with such affection, as discovered an extraordinary degree of Charity, *that he forgave all the World*, and as be-

came that humility which was so peculiar to him, he was pleased not only to give his Pardon and Benediction, but to ask forgiveness of all about him, for any thing wherein he might have offended them : Who returned all the thanks for his perpetual kindness and favours that their Tears could express. Being asked whether the Exhortation in the Office of the Visitation of the Sick should be read, he answered, *Yes by all means, he would have nothing omitted which might express his Humiliation and Repentance.* When his Physicians came to him immediately after his receiving the H. Sacrament, he told them in a cheerful Voice, *That he had now been under better hands than theirs.* And at another time when the proper Remedies were used, which must needs be very painful in such Distempers, he only said, *And is Life worth all this at threescore years and five?*

Thus he lay in much pain, but with wonderful Resignation of himself, wholly to the Divine Will, and with a clear use of his understanding till *Thursday*, when he fell into a kind of dozing sleep, and about Four next morning there appeared a great change in him, tho he then repeated the Lords Prayer after his Chaplain who pray'd by him, but seem'd insensible before the Prayers were ended. Afterwards he was observed to lift up his hands in Prayer to himself, but his Voice had failed him ; and from that time he lay in Convulsions struggling with Death, till he found his Passage into a better World, on *Friday, Aug. 30.* about Nine at night.

I know, you, Sir, and all good men must heartily lament so great a loss, which always would have been great, but never greater than now. And it seems
a sad

a sad indication of Gods wrath, that such men are taken away from us at a time when there is most need of them. But however it may please God to deal with a sinful People, we ought to bless his H. Name for his gracious mercy to him, and to us all in him who was never wanting to his Country in his Life, or at his Death, but has done his glorious part to save the Church twice in the space of one year.

And as he was a publick good to the Nation, so was he a peculiar Blessing to all that had the happiness to be near him. He was of an extraordinary courteous and generous Temper, always affable and easie of access, free and chearful in his Conversation, full of meekness and condescension, a great Encourager and Patron of Learning in others, which he possessed to a great degree himself. For by long and constant study, most Controversies were become familiar to him, and by the advantage of Books, and his own Observation, joyn'd with an excellent Judgment, he was very skilful and dextrous in business; and that experience which all men had of his Integrity and goodness did mightily facilitate whatever he undertook. He had successively many very considerable Preferments, but none of his own seeking. For he never was the man, that solicited for any, but when they were offered, did not decline an opportunity of being more useful in his Generation. He Preached frequently to the very time of his Suspension, and he was a constant Preacher for many years, and always much esteem'd. This constant Blessing attended him, that he was a Peace-maker where ever he came, and he was so prudent, and so successful in all the wise and kind Methods of gaining upon obstinate men, that the worst Enemies of Episcopacy were oftentimes reconciled

ciled to the Order it self for his sake. And I may confidently say, he left himself as few Enemies as ever any Bishop did ; and indeed, it were hard if he should have left any, when his only business was to promote the peace and benefit of Mankind. And this he did by condescending to their infirmities, and by gentle and prudent ways, but never used any mean or unworthy compliance. He always maintained the height of his Character, and the Sacred Dignity of his Office, and stedfastly adhered to the Articles and Canons of the Church in all particulars. And that lively sense of Religion, and conscientious Regard to his Duty, with that Candor and Charity which appeared in all his Actions, gained him a strange awe and reverence from those of a contrary Opinion. He was revered by all, but always most esteemed by those who best knew him. He was always popular, tho he never made it his business to be so, and it was seldom his fortune to be of the popular side ; and he who was so obliging to all, yet durst displease even his Friends when God and Religion was the cause.

He was of true *English* Courage, mild and peaceable, not easily mov'd, but sedate and undaunted ; and he has been sometimes heard to say, when Dan-
gers were most threatening, *That he thanked God he never much knew what fear was, when he was once satisfy'd in the goodness of his cause:* And till then, he never would ingage himself in any. His judgment of Persons and things was determined by their own right and worth, not by the success. He never thought the worse of a despised and unbefriended cause, nor was ever discouraged under the most discouraging circumstances, but his Zeal was still then most vigorous, when he saw the Church in most distress, and in most need of it.

A settled firmness of mind carry'd him through all the changes of Fortune with the same calm and even temper; he was the same in the *Tower*, and at his Tryal, that he was in his own Palace at *Chichester*, always unalter'd and unconcern'd: Amidst the acclamations and applauses of the whole Nation, he was still the same that he had been in his most retir'd and private condition, and made only this advantage of it, to recommend the Duties of Obedience to God, and to the King, with the greater Authority.

This he did in *September* 1688, soon after the Bishops Tryal, going a Visitation extraordinary throughout his Diocess, for that very purpose, as His Grace my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* had appointed, whose least intimations he never failed to observe. He took a long and expensive Journey, when he was very unfit for travel, being much afflicted with the Gout, that he might lose no opportunity to employ that esteem which the whole Kingdom had of his Merit, to the Glory of God, and for the Interest of His Majesty.

There is scarce a Gentleman in *Sussex* but can testify, with what Zeal he recommended to them Stedfastness and Perseverance in the Profession and Practice of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; and particularly, in their Loyalty to the King. This he insisted upon, that they must be ever Loyal, and by no means resist upon any account whatsoever, if they would be true to the Principles of the Church.

This I say, Sir, the Gentlemen of that County well remember, who met him in the several parts of his Diocess, with that respect which was wont to be payed to the Primitive Bishops. His Lordship was always exceedingly dear to them, and they to him,
but

but his coming now among them, was like the return from banishment of *St. Athanasius* or *St. Chrysostom*.

It must be confessed, that his Lordship lay under the same misfortune with most of the Nobility and Gentry at that time, to have his Duty and Affection to the King misunderstood. But he was content to be Loyal, under the reproach of Disloyalty ; which is the greatest Instance of Fidelity that any Subject can give.

He had a sober, and rational, and powerful sense of Religion, and how despicable soever it might appear to the World, he still thought it worth the suffering for, he considered that it is more dear to God himself, than to the best and most zealous men : and that God is most willing and able to maintain it. But if it must be revived in a degenerate age, by the same sufferings by which it was at first propagated, he was prepared to submit to the severest Methods of the Divine Providence ; and he could not imagine that it should make much for the Interest of Religion, to defend it against it self, against its own Doctrine. He remembered whom we are to follow, him who was meek and lowly, who did at first command all his Followers to take up the Cross, and has given a Dispensation to none, at any time, to refuse it.

But his Character will be best taken from *S. Paul's* words ; For he was directly that Bishop whom the Apostle describes, *blameless as the Steward of God, not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to Wine, no Striker, not given to filthy lucre, but a lover of Hospitality, a lover of good Men, sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithful Word, as he had been taught, that he might be able by sound Doctrine, both to exhort, and to convince the Gainsayers.*

Thus,

Thus, Sir, you have his full Character, the rest is an imperfect account of the late Bishop of *Chichester*, though perhaps not so short as you expected it should be, unless it had been more exact. But I had no design to write His Lordships Life, any further than to shew, *That being trained up from his Childhood in the way he should go, when he was old he did not depart from it, but feared the Lord and the King, and medled not with them that are given to change.*

The Vindication was needless, I confess, and tedious, but upon the whole I shall make no excuse for the length of this Letter. I could not write of His Lordship in fewer words, for whilest I am writing to you of him, so long methinks I enjoy His Lordship's presence, and live over again those happy hours which we have formerly spent with him; and you will not blame me, Sir, if I am desirous to recall as much as I can, and to prolong that time now, which we always thought so short in the injoyment. And may the remembrance of his Doctrine, and the Imitation of his Example, revive and endear that time to us, till it be improved to a blessed Eternity with him in Heaven. I am

S I R,

Your Humble Servant:

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Post-

Postscript.

IT may, Sir, be a further satisfaction to know the sense which the late Lord Bishop of Worcester had of the New Oath; who made the same profession in effect, that my Lord Bishop of Chichester did, though not altogether in so solemn a manner. I shall say little of that excellent Prelate, but the opinion which all men generally had of his Worth, and the Reverence with which he is always mentioned, cannot fail of rendring his Judgment upon his Death-Bed, very considerable in this matter.

His Lordship sent for a Reverend Divine, and after an hours discourse concerning the New Oath, and giving his Reasons why he could not take it, and expressing a great concern for the Clergy who were of another Opinion, and particularly for those of his own Diocese, he concluded with these words, If my heart do not deceive me, and Gods grace do not fail me, I think I could suffer at a Stake, rather than take this Oath. These words were spoken on the 23^d of June, being the Lords Day, about six in the Afternoon, two days before he dy'd, when His Lordship had as entire use of his Reason, as ever he had in the best State of his Health.

It is very observable, that the only two Bishops who have dyed since the refusal of the Oath, have declared, When they had now done with this World, and had no other expectations but of Death and Judgment, they refused it only upon a Principle of Conscience. And all who have any Charity or Conscience themselves, or the least respect for the Church of England, must give great regard to the dying words of two such Bishops, in whom their worst Enemies can find nothing to blame, but that which shall be their eternal Honour, that all the Temptations and Inducements which probably can happen in any Case, could never prevail with them to take an Oath against their Consciences.

Advertisement.

I*F the Publication of these Papers had not been delayed, they might perhaps have prevented the Attempts of a Weekly Scribler, who only repeats, what the Person of Quality had said in his Letter before : But as there is nothing worth the taking notice of in his Observations, so he may be sure that no Man will be at leisure to answer a Paper, which so few have the Patience to read.*

F I N I S.
